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White and Black "Flight" from High Immigration Metro Areas: Evidence from the 1990 Census

No. 94-319

Research Report
September 1994

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This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, August 5, 1994. The migration data for this paper were prepared at the Population Studies Center, University of Michigan from 1990 U.S. Census files. The author acknowledges Cathy Sun for computer programming assistance, and Ron Lue-Sang for preparing maps and graphics.

ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes 1990 census migration data for US metropolitan areas. Its tables provide detailed statistics on immigration and internal migration components of 1985-90 population change for individual metropolitan areas, cross tabulated for whites and blacks by poverty status, education attainment, and age.

The analysis compares white and black internal migration patterns across the nation's largest metropolitan areas, with an eye toward detecting similarities in their responses to immigration from abroad. Recent studies have shown that metropolitan areas which are most heavily impacted by immigration flows are witnessing accelerated out-migration "flight" of internal migrants to other parts of the country where fewer immigrants reside. Earlier studies have shown that this immigration-influenced "flight" is unique in both its socio-demographic selectivity, and spatial pattern. However, they have not examined the "flight" responses of blacks to the new immigration, or compared them with those of whites.

The paper addresses the following questions: (1) Has recent immigration exerted a similar internal migration response for blacks as it has for whites, in terms of its magnitude and socio-demographic selectivity? and (2) Are the spatial patterns of immigration-influenced black out-migration similar to those for whites? The answers to these questions provide insights into the degree to which blacks and whites respond in similar ways to the influx of relatively low-skilled, less well-off immigrant waves. It also suggests what a continuation of these selective immigrant-internal migration processes imply for the race and skill-level profiles of High Immigration metropolitan areas.

The results show some consistency in the "flight" responses of blacks and whites to recent immigration from abroad. While the magnitude of response to immigration is stronger for whites than it is for blacks, the socio-demographic selectivity patterns are quite similar. It is the least-educated and well-off segments of both populations that are prone to move away from High Immigration metro areas. Also, as with whites, the immigration-influenced internal migration of blacks takes a different spatial pattern than more conventional black long-distance migration.

Data used: 1990 US census tabulations of full migration ("residence 5 years ago") sample

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Introduction

New immigration-internal migration dynamics have become evident with recent analyses of the 1990 US census (Frey, 1993; 1994a; 1994c; 1994d). These studies show that those US States and metropolitan areas that are most heavily impacted by recent immigration flows are witnessing an out-migration "flight" of internal migrants to other parts of the country where fewer immigrants reside. Although this phenomenon was already evident in the late 1970s (see 1980 census studies by Filer, 1992; Walker, Ellis and Barff, 1992; and White and Imai, 1993), its scope appears to have accelerated over time. Immigration flows to the US remain highly focused on only a few port-of-entry areas. Yet, over time, immigration has accelerated in absolute numbers and differed dramatically in its demographic composition (Borjas and Freeman, 1992; Fix and Passel, 1994). Current immigrants are predominantly from Latin American and Asian national origins, and are, therefore, largely Hispanic and Asian minorities. While migrants continue to be bimodal on social class attributes, the newer immigrant waves are more heavily represented among the lower skilled, and low income rungs of the socio-economic ladder.

These larger magnitudes and changed demographic profiles of migration flows to a small number of port-of-entry destinations, it can be argued, will precipitate an out-migration of native-born Americans as a result of altered economic and social conditions (Tilove and Hallinan, 1993). The increased number of immigrants, with high school educations or less, compete with native workers for low-skilled jobs and bid down their wages. The arrival of immigrant ethnic minorities, also in large numbers, changes the cultural milieu and perceptions of social costs for whites and more established minorities that can lead to out-migration. Our earlier analyses of migration patterns for the total population and for whites (non-Latino whites) are consistent with these views (Frey, 1993; 1994a; 1994d). However, these studies did not examine the impact immigration holds for black internal migration patterns. This will be the focus of the present paper.

Before discussing our expectations regarding the relation between immigration and black internal migration, we review key findings of our analyses of immigration impacts on white internal movement. First, we found that immigration exerts a unique socio-economic selectivity on white out-movement from metropolitan areas. While long-distance migration typically selects disproportionately on persons with higher educations and professional occupations (Lansing and Mueller, 1967; Long, 1988), immigration-induced out-migration selects disproportionately on less-educated and lower income whites. This is consistent with the argument that it is the less-skilled native born who are in greatest competition with newly-arrived immigrants.

A second significant aspect of immigration-influenced white out-migration is its unique spatial pattern. Here again, there is a contrast with more conventional long-distance migration.

The latter tends to be more "pull-oriented" such that migrants around the country converge on a few metropolitan areas with high or rising incomes and good employment prospects. In contrast, immigration-influenced out-migration is more "push-oriented" where destinations are more diffuse and, in the case of California, lead migrants to adjacent States (Frey, 1994c).

Together, these unique attributes of immigration-influenced out-migration of whites hold important implications for both local and national demographic structures. On the local level, displacement of out-migrating whites with immigrants and new minorities is exacerbated at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum which can lead toward sharp disparities in an area's race class structure. For example, California's 1990 census results show that whites comprise 75 percent of its college graduate population but only 29 percent of adults who did not graduate from high school (Frey, 1993). On a national scale, this selective out-migration from high immigration metropolitan areas and States can lead to sharp demographic divides by race and class across broad regions of the country.

The present paper investigates the impact of immigration on the internal migration patterns of blacks with an eye toward making comparisons with the white patterns just reviewed. The history of black long-distance migration in the United States is closely intertwined with the ebbs and flows of immigration into traditional port-of-entry areas (Reder, 1963; Hamilton, 1964). The recent waves of immigration represent a renewed economic competition with blacks on the basis of skill substitution, informal networking, and even affirmative action regulations which may serve to favor the new immigrant groups (Waldinger, 1989; 1993; Tienda and Liang, 1992; Hirschman, 1988; Tilove, 1993). The fact that national studies do not show blacks to be appreciably disadvantaged by immigrants on labor force and income measures (see reviews in Fix and Passel, 1994; and Espenshade, 1993) might be explained by the out-migration of blacks away from high immigration areas. Although such black out-migration was not evident in the study of 1980 census migration patterns (Filer, 1992), the magnitude and character of immigration to these areas has changed considerably since 1980.

This study will address the following questions:

1. Has recent immigration exerted a similar impact on the internal out-migration of blacks as it has on whites, in terms of its magnitude and selectivity?

2. Are the spatial patterns of immigration-influenced black out-migration similar to those for whites?

The findings presented below show strong similarities in the selectivity patterns, and in some cases the magnitudes, of black out-migration from high immigration metropolitan areas. This differs from the results of a 1980 census analysis (Filer, 1992) and is consistent with other 1990 census findings which indicate converging trends in white and black long-distance migration patterns within the United States (Frey, 1994b). The specific spatial patterns of immigration-influenced black out-migration are not consistent with those of whites, however, and are very much influenced by historic channels of black migration between specific States. Yet, as with the analysis of whites, there appears to be a distinct difference between the spatial patterns of black out-migration streams, which are most strongly influenced by immigration at origin, and spatial patterns of more conventional black long-distance migration. Finally, the impact of these black out-migration patterns differs across metropolitan areas, depending on the relative share of black vis-a-vis other racial groups' composition of the total population. In Los Angeles, for example, white out-migration exerts a stronger overall impact on the area's race and class structure.

The data for this study draw from a special migration matrix prepared from the 1990 census of population based on the "residence 5 years ago" question. These data permit an assessment of net internal migration, and migration from abroad for the 1985-90 period, for each

metropolitan area and State. The data were compiled for all individuals aged 5 and above in 1990 (who were alive in 1985), by race and ethnicity, by poverty status, and education attainment among persons aged 25 and over. Because of the way the data were compiled, statistics for whites (non-Latino whites) had to be estimated (see Frey, 1994d for details). Also, the reader should be aware that migration from abroad data, as reported in the census, substantially understates the illegal immigrant population (Fix and Passel, 1994; Center for Immigration Studies, 1994).

Immigration-dominant Metropolitan Areas

Much of this analysis focuses on comparing net migration in "High Immigration Areas" with that in other types of areas where population changes were less strongly affected by immigration from abroad. To do this, we will draw on an earlier study where we have identified States and metropolitan areas which are clearly "High Immigration Areas" as compared to areas we consider to be strongly affected by internal migration streams (High Internal Migration Areas), and those where there is significant internal out-migration but a relative absence of immigration from abroad (High Out-migration Areas). Our analysis at the State level identifies 18 States of these three categories, shown in Table 1 and Figure 1. (See Frey, 1994a for a fuller discussion of the State-level analysis.)

(Table 1 and Figure 1 here.)

It is not surprising to learn that immigrants gravitate to only a small number of States, since these house the lion's share of the nation's existing immigrant minority enclaves (Bean and Tienda, 1987; Bartel, 1989; Barringer et al., 1993). What is noteworthy is that all but one of the High Immigration States show a net internal out-migration over the same period, and the remaining State (California) registers only a small net in-migration which has, in fact, turned to out-migration since 1990 (Bolton, 1993). This consistent pattern raises the possibility that there is a link between immigration during the 1985-90 period, and the out-migration of internal migrants for areas as broad as the State-level. It also makes plain that the internal migration patterns that affect the gains and losses in the other two categories of States are less affected by the nation's immigration dynamics than by their relative economic or social attractions for the nation's internal migrants.

Rather than focusing on States, the present analysis focuses on metropolitan areas and utilizes a similar typology, presented in Table 2, which is based on the metropolitan area as a unit of analysis (see Frey, 1994d for further discussion of this typology). As with the State typology, it was not difficult to identify metropolitan areas where population change was dominated by immigration from abroad. Ten of the 11 High Immigration Metro Areas showed either negative or negligible net internal migration over the same period. The only exception to this is San Diego which is in the unique position of gaining large numbers from both sources. Apart from these areas, all of the other large metropolitan areas classed in Table 2 are dominated by either internal migration gains (15 High Internal Migration Areas), internal migration losses (8 High Out-migration Areas), or constitute residual areas with relatively small gains, or losses attributable to migration components ("Other Large Metros"). In addressing the questions for this analysis, we compare migration patterns of High Immigration Areas with those in the second and third categories of Table 2.

(Table 2 here.)

White and Black Migration Selectivity

To what extent does immigration affect white and black net out-migration in similar ways? We can first examine the levels of these responses with the data presented in Table 3. We

focus here on rates of net migration, rather than actual numbers, due to the fact that relative sizes of the white and black resident populations differ across individual metropolitan areas.

(Table 3 here.)

The table 3 comparisons indicate that black net migration is negative in most of the same areas in which white net migration is negative. But the magnitude of the gain or loss tends to be smaller than those for whites. Among the High Immigration Areas, both whites and blacks showed similar and high net out-migration from the New York metro area and in Chicago, where the late 1980s economy was particularly severe for blacks, the black out-migration rate exceeded that for whites. However, in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston, and especially in Houston, the white out-migration rate was noticeably larger. And in Miami, Washington, D.C., and Dallas, the black population increased while whites showed negligible gains or losses.

At first blush, it appears that blacks are likely to leave most High Immigration Metro Areas, but that their response is less pronounced than that of whites. This lower migration response tends also to typify black internal migration for other categories of areas. That is, blacks register gains in each of the High Internal Migration Areas, and declines in all but one (Milwaukee) of the High Out-migration Areas. Yet, in most instances, the magnitude of gains or declines were greater for whites than they were for blacks. Two notable exceptions to this were the higher rates of black gains for Atlanta and Norfolk -- metro areas which also registered the greatest numeric increases in blacks over the 1985-90 period.

The second aspect of our comparison relates to the selectivity of migration for whites and blacks. As indicated earlier, white out-migration from High Immigration Areas tends to disproportionately favor the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. This is due, in part, to the increased labor market pressure brought on by large immigration gains among lower education levels. This immigration impact on the populations of High Immigration Areas can be seen in Table 4 which displays rates of migration from abroad by education attainment and poverty status. These rates make plain that levels of immigration tend to be highest among adults with less than high school educations, and persons living below the poverty level. The rates are particularly high among the four metro areas: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami and San Diego. However, these statistics also make plain that immigration is bimodal with respect to educational distribution. In most areas, college grad rates -- while well below those of high school dropouts -- lie above those for high school graduates, and adults with only some college.

(Table 4 here.)

The data that permit us to evaluate the selectivity patterns of whites and blacks appear in Tables 5 and 6. Here, we anticipate finding the "unique" selectivity patterns of out-migration for whites and blacks from High Immigration Metro Areas. Yet, for redistribution across the other types of metro areas we expect to find in- or out-migration to be highest among college graduates consistent with traditional long-distance migration patterns (Long, 1988).

(Tables 5 and 6 here.)

Looking first at the High Immigration Areas, we find overall conformity with expectations for both whites and blacks. That is, for the most part, greatest out-migration levels tend to be for adults with less than high school educations or high school graduates, rather than college graduates or those with some college. For example, among Los Angeles whites, high school dropouts out-migrated at the rate of 5.3 percent, high school graduates at 4.3 percent, those completing some college at 3.2 percent, and college graduates showed a net increase of 2.2 percent. In some cases (such as Houston for blacks) the pattern is not nearly as clear cut, but for the most part it is consistent with expectations.

One fairly common pattern among most of these areas for whites, and some of these areas for blacks, is the net in-migration of college graduates along with the net out-migration of most of the less-educated adults. To some extent, this is consistent with the "dual labor market" model which has been applied to many of these High Immigration Metro Areas with large advanced service, corporate headquarter components (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991). In these areas, it can be argued that low-skilled immigrants represent competition for low-skilled native-born whites and blacks. However, the former perform complimentary activities which, in fact, increase the productivity of industries which employ high-skilled professionals. Not only are employees in these activities relatively immune from the competition of immigrants, but they may also benefit from their presence.

The more conventional migrant selectivity patterns, expected for High Internal Migration Areas and High Out-migration Areas, are also borne out by the data of both whites and blacks. That is, in most High Internal Migration Areas, migrant gains tend to be accentuated for college graduates and diminished for those with high school educations or less. For High Out-migration Areas, rates of out-migration tend to be most accentuated among the better educated. This is because these areas are not affected by the strong low-skilled immigrant "push" that is present in the High Immigration Areas.

While these patterns tend to hold for most areas, there are exceptions. One notable exception for whites occurs with Las Vegas. Here, there are uniformly high internal migration gains at all education levels. This can be explained, in part, because Las Vegas is receiving the overflow of less-educated out-migrants from California (discussed below), as well as the better-educated out-migrants from other parts of the country. Among black High Internal Migration Areas, the South Atlantic region metros of Raleigh-Durham, Norfolk, and Nashville show heightened internal migration gains among less-educated categories. This may be because these areas are attracting black return migrants or out-migrants from some of the northern High Immigration Metro Areas. Finally, for both whites and blacks, not all High Out-migration Metros conform to the expected pattern. Here, the expected accentuated college graduate out-migration is most evident for the "Rust Belt" areas of Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Buffalo, and the "Oil Patch" metro New Orleans. For blacks, Milwaukee registers noticeable net migration gains among lower education categories, and for persons below poverty. This may represent, in part, a spillover of the black out-migrants from nearby Chicago.

In sum, this review of white and black migrant selectivity provides an affirmative answer to the first question raised in this analysis. There is a general similarity in the out-migration responses of whites and blacks to immigration, as observed from these data for different categories of metropolitan areas. While the magnitude of the response to immigration is stronger for whites than it is for blacks, the socio-economic selectivity patterns are quite similar. The unique out-migration patterns which select on the least educated segments of the population are evident for both whites and blacks from High Immigration States.

Spatial Patterns of White and Black Out-migration

To what extent are the spatial patterns of immigration-influenced out-migration similar for whites and blacks? We answer this question in two ways. First, indirectly, with some descriptive statistics that show the largest net gaining and losing States for white and black internal migrants as well as the most prominent white and black streams away from the "High Immigration State" of California. The second means for answering this question employs multivariate analysis in order to evaluate how closely the same metropolitan-area attributes -- including an area's immigration level -- influence white and black migration patterns.

Before discussing the descriptive portion of the analysis, we wish to reiterate the significant finding from our previous study of white migration patterns (Frey, 1994c). It is that the immigration-influenced out-migration registers the spatial imprint of a strong "push" effect -- with largest out-migration sharply focused from the High Immigration States, but is directed to many diffuse destinations. This contrasts with the more conventional "pull-oriented" migration wherein well-educated, or professional, migrants are lured from diffuse origins to a more distinct set of destinations.

The maps shown in Figure 2 provide confirmatory evidence that both poverty whites and poverty blacks display generalized "push-oriented" out-migration away from the High Immigration States and to fairly diffuse destinations. Four of the five greatest out-migration States for both poverty whites and poverty blacks are the High Immigration States of New York, California, New Jersey and Illinois (Frey, 1993; 1994a). While their destinations are fairly diffuse, the greatest areas of poverty gains are not identical. This is consistent with historical differences in white and black migration patterns which provide particular constraints in the destinations of blacks who are reliant on strong friendship or kinship ties (Johnson and Roseman, 1990; Cromartie and Stack, 1989).

(Figure 2 here.)

Recent data for the migration patterns of white and black college graduates show greater convergence in the "pull-oriented" destinations of whites and blacks than in the past (Frey, 1994b), although this convergence is not strong enough to create a consistency in the overall rankings of white and black migration patterns (see Table 7). Nonetheless, it is clear that for both races, immigration-induced out-migration "pushes" migrants to a somewhat different set of destinations than the more conventional long-distance migration. This is clear from comparing the destinations of poverty black out-migrants from California with college graduate black out-migrants from California (lower panel of Table 8). The former "push-dominated" out-migrants are much more destined to go to traditional southern-origin States which originally sent black migrants to California (Johnson and Roseman, 1990; McHugh, 1988). College graduate black out-migrants are more prone to locate in dynamic economic centers in Georgia (Atlanta), Virginia and Maryland (Washington, D.C.), and New York (New York City).

(Tables 7 and 8 here.)

Another way to compare geographic linkages to the net migration patterns of whites and blacks is via multi-variate analyses that predict a metropolitan area's white or black net migration patterns. We present such analyses in Tables 9 and 10 for whites and blacks, respectively. (See Table footnotes that indicate the criterion for including areas in this analysis.) The dependent variables in these equations pertain to the internal migration levels for a specific demographic sub-group of a metropolitan area's white or black population.

(Tables 9 and 10 here.)

Included in this analysis as independent variables are a geographic regional classification (dummy variables for the Northeast region, the Midwest region, the South Atlantic division, the Mountain division and the Pacific division, where parts of the South, which are not included in the South Atlantic division, represent the omitted category); four variables reflecting the metropolitan area's economic structure (unemployment rate of 1988, per capita income in 1988, percent of change in manufacturing employment for the period 1982-87, and the percent of males engaged in professional and managerial employment based on the 1990 census); two variables pertaining to the area's minority structure (percent non-white, and percent black); the level of immigration over the period 1985-90, and the log of the metropolitan area's population size in 1985). All of the migration and population data were drawn from the 1980 and 1990 censuses.

The economic characteristics were drawn from the State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1991, compiled by the US Bureau of the Census.

As indicated, we wish to compare the similarities in the equations for whites with those for blacks. In each we expected that immigration would exert an independent effect on net out-migration and that this effect would be most pronounced for the below-poverty population, for individuals with less-than-college degrees, and also for the elderly. In fact, immigration is the only variable that exerts a significant effect on each equation for both races. However, for each race, the magnitude of the coefficient tends to be lower for college graduates than for any of the other demographic categories. It is also noteworthy that, controlling for immigration, the metropolitan area's non-white percentage does not significantly affect migration for any category of each race. However, poverty whites and less well-educated whites are more prone to out-migrate from areas with higher percentage blacks. (Note, these areas are typically not High Immigration Areas as can be seen in the right-hand columns of Table 2.) Beyond the immigration effect, the only similarities between the white and black equations are the negative effect of an area's unemployment on the migration of poverty and less-educated population groups. High income levels exert a significant positive effect on white college graduate migration and a close-to-significant effect on the comparable equation for blacks.

While these equations do not show the patterns that were anticipated, they do indicate that immigration shows a strong relationship with the net out-migration of whites and blacks on several demographic categories. Both these equations and the descriptive analyses shown above indicate some broad similarities in the spatial patterns of black and white out-migration patterns in their response to immigration from abroad.

Race and Class Structure

How do these migration processes influence the race and class structure of a metropolitan area's population? The answer to this question depends, in large part, on the existing race class structure of the area, reflecting its history as a destination for different racial and ethnic groups. While this paper has attempted to determine the impact immigration holds for black internal migration, it is the case that in most High Immigration Areas, blacks make up a smaller population than the other minorities combined. (See Table 2, right-hand columns.) In the case of metropolitan Los Angeles, the data in Table 11 show that the major migration dynamic, affecting poverty, less-educated, and younger populations involve: migration from abroad of non-black minorities (Latinos, Asians and others); and the internal out-migration of whites. In this population, black out-migration exerts a relatively minor effect on the social structure. For example, during the 1985-90 period, Los Angeles' poverty population was incremented by 241,000 non-black minority immigrants, and was reduced by 47,700 whites moving to other parts of the country. The additional out-migration of 9,500 blacks made a relatively small dent on the poverty population. The impact of the two former contributions is reflected in the overall 1990 population statistics for Los Angeles (last 3 columns of Table 11). Not only is the poverty population made up of a "majority minority," but it is made up of a majority comprised of only non-black minorities. Similarly, non-black minorities comprise the majority of the metropolitan area's less-than-high school graduate population, and children under age 15.

(Table 11 here.)

Certainly the out-migration of blacks makes a larger impact on the race and class structure of High Immigration Areas with larger black shares, such as New York, Chicago and Houston. Yet, probably the greater impact of this immigration-influenced black out-migration will be represented in regional differences that are emerging across metropolitan areas and States. Whites and blacks who are out-migrating from these High Immigration Areas and States appear to be headed toward mostly white, mostly black, or largely white-black metropolitan

destinations. Therefore, sharper divisions may emerge between, on the one hand, regions which receive large numbers of non-black, immigrant minorities (located on the west coast, in the Southwest, and selected metros on the eastern seaboard as well as Chicago and Miami); and, on the other hand, large stretches of the country which remain largely white (Mountain States, most of the Midwest, and New England) or white and black (selected northern cities, and the South Atlantic region). The current immigration and internal migration patterns, reviewed here, suggest that these divisions can emerge, although they will be reliant on the continued, focused immigration to traditional port-of-entry areas, the relative non-dispersal of new immigrant groups (as documented in Bartel and Koch, 1991), and the further out-migration of native-born whites and blacks from high immigration regions.

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Migration Classification of States

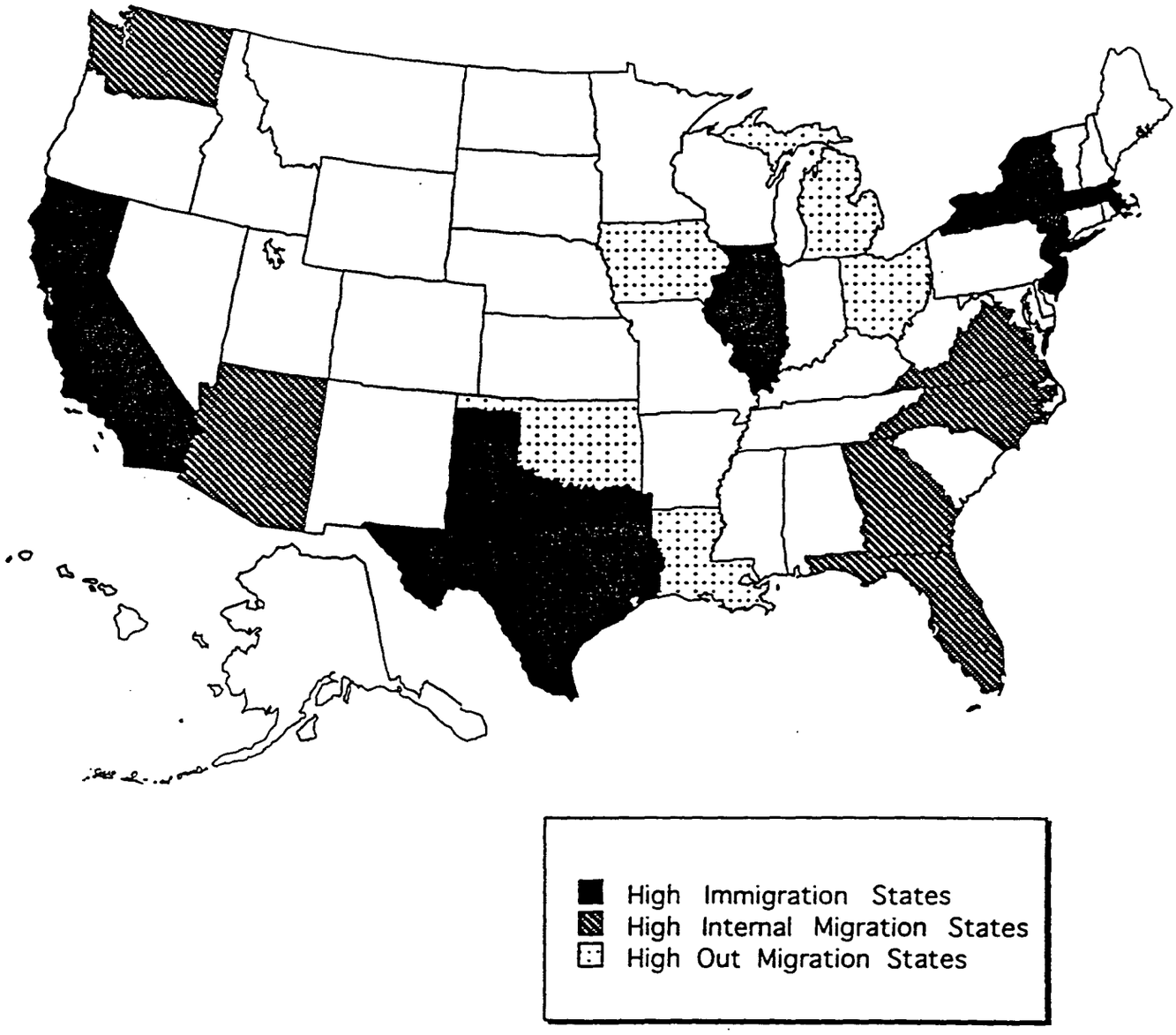
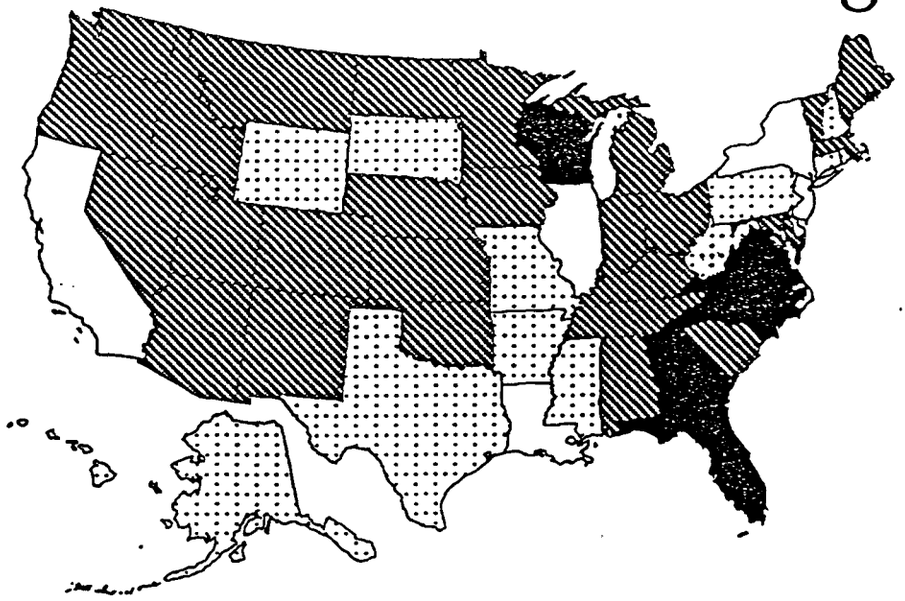
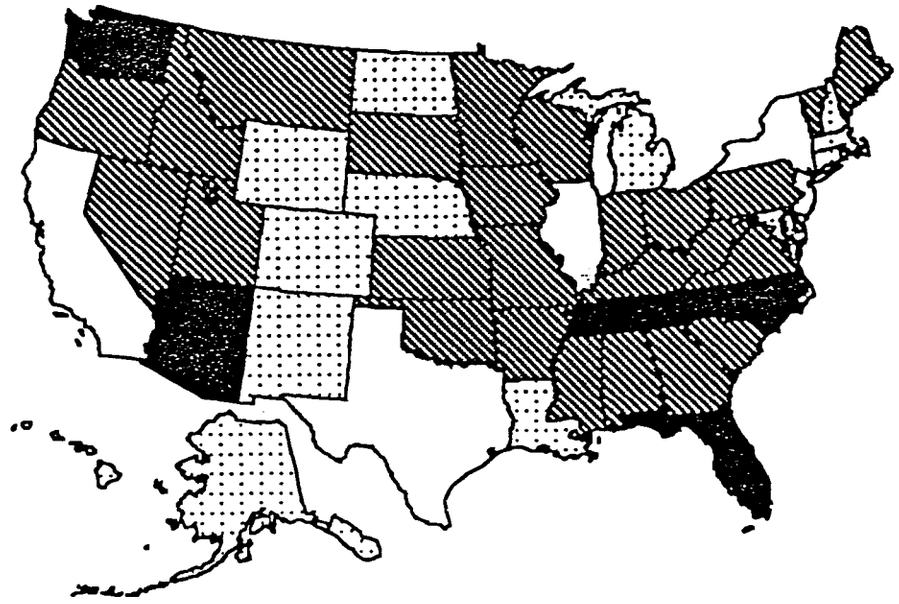


FIGURE 1

Poverty Blacks - Net Interstate Migration



Poverty Whites - Net Interstate Migration



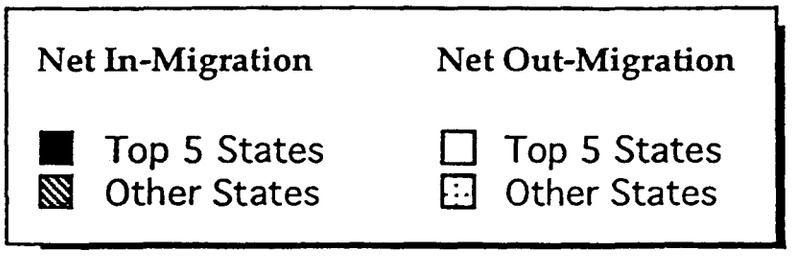


Figure 2: State Gains or Losses of White and Black Poverty Migrants

Table 1: Classification of States by Dominant Immigration and Interstate Migration Contributions to Population Change, 1985-90

Rank	State	Contribution to 1985-90 Change (1000s) Migration from Abroad	Net Interstate Migration**
I HIGH IMMIGRATION STATES[a]			
1	California	1499	174
2	New York	614	-821
3	Texas	368	-331
4	New Jersey	211	-194
5	Illinois	203	-342
6	Massachusetts	156	-97
II HIGH INTERNAL MIGRATION STATES[b]			
1	Florida	390	1071
2	Georgia	92	303
3	North Carolina	66	281
4	Virginia	149	228
5	Washington	102	216
6	Arizona	80	216
III HIGH OUT-MIGRATION STATES[c]			
1	Louisiana	30	-251
2	Ohio	69	-141
3	Michigan	74	-133
4	Oklahoma	32	-128
5	Iowa	17	-94

Source: Compiled from 1990 Census files at the Population Studies Center, The University of Michigan

* 1990 State residents who resided abroad in 1985

**1985-90 In-migrants from other States minus 1985-90 Out -migrants to other States

[a]States with largest 1985-90 migration from abroad which exceeds net interstate migration

[b]States with largest 1985-90 net interstate migration and exceeds migration from abroad

[c]States with largest negative net interstate migration and not recipients of large migration from abroad

Source: William H. Frey, "The New White Flight" American Demographics April, 1994

Table 2: Classification of Large Metro Areas by Dominant Immigration and Internal Migration Contributions to Population Change, 1985-90

Metro Areas *	Contribution to 1985-90 Change: Immigration from Abroad	Contribution to 1985-90 Change: Net Internal Migration	Percent of Total Metro Population: Whites**	Blacks	Other Minorities
I. HIGH IMMIGRATION METROS					
LOS ANGELES	899,007	-174,673	50	8	42
NEW YORK	756,034	-1,065,580	63	18	19
SAN FRANCISCO	293,306	-103,498	61	9	30
MIAMI	210,609	45,287	48	19	34
WASHINGTON DC	190,941	33,634	63	27	11
CHICAGO	179,524	-293,185	67	19	14
BOSTON	119,646	-116,506	87	6	8
SAN DIEGO	115,847	126,855	65	6	28
HOUSTON	96,782	-142,227	58	18	24
PHILADELPHIA	79,975	-28,400	76	19	6
DALLAS	77,301	27,435	70	14	16
II. HIGH INTERNAL MIGRATION METROS					
ATLANTA	42,878	192,065	70	26	4
TAMPA-ST. PETE	34,623	159,112	83	9	8
SEATTLE	63,870	146,026	85	5	10
PHOENIX	43,861	139,678	77	3	19
ORLANDO	35,153	132,449	77	12	11
LAS VEGAS	20,551	128,680	75	10	15
SACRAMENTO	36,380	117,732	73	7	20
WEST PALM BEACH	21,485	107,940	79	12	8
CHARLOTTE	8,926	66,961	78	20	2
RALEIGH-DURHRAM	12,451	66,088	72	25	3
PORTLAND	24,335	60,733	90	3	8
NORFOLK	33,236	59,292	67	29	5
NASHVILLE	7,569	57,639	83	15	2
FORT MYERS	3,469	57,613	88	7	5
DAYTONA BEACH	5,137	55,074	86	9	5
III. HIGH OUT-MIGRATION METROS					
DETROIT	45,417	-136,352	75	21	4
PITTSBURGH	10,720	-89,759	91	8	1
NEW ORLEANS	10,270	-88,356	59	35	6
CLEVELAND	20,597	-79,925	81	16	3
DENVER	28,127	-61,360	80	5	15
ST. LOUIS	19,132	-37,262	80	17	2
MILWAUKEE	13,062	-34,801	81	13	5
BUFFALO	10,717	-30,572	86	10	3
OTHER LARGE METROS					
COLUMBUS, OH	13,933	44,622	86	12	3
MINNEAPOLIS-ST.PAUL	28,112	40,277	91	4	5
BALTIMORE	33,706	29,566	71	26	3
INDIANAPOLIS	8,141	15,278	84	14	2
KANSAS CITY	13,962	13,269	83	13	4
PROVIDENCE	26,910	11,860	91	3	6
CINCINNATI	9,517	9,259	87	12	1
HARTFORD	24,628	-5,143	83	9	8
SAN ANTONIO	29,372	-11,600	44	7	49
ROCHESTER	10,884	-14,691	86	9	5
SALT LAKE CITY	14,940	-20,525	90	1	9

* Includes all metro areas with 1990 populations exceeding one million, in addition to six smaller areas which registered 1985-90 net internal migration exceeding 50,000. The metropolitan area definitions are consistent with Office of Management and Budget definitions of CMSAs, MSAs and NECMA counterparts as of June 30, 1990.

** Non-Latino Whites

Table 3: Net Internal Migration, 1985-90: Whites and Blacks for Metropolitan Categories

Metro Areas	Rates of Net Migration*			Net Migration	
	Total	Whites**	Black	Whites	Blacks
HIGH IMMIGRATION					
LOS ANGELES	-1.3	-2.0	-1.1	-168,419	-11,731
NEW YORK	-6.4	-6.8	-6.4	-800,632	-191,700
SAN FRANCISCO	-1.8	-2.2	-1.4	-93,688	-7,078
MIAMI	1.5	-1.0	2.0	32,966	10,401
WASHINGTON DC	0.9	0.0	2.1	4,334	20,205
CHICAGO	-3.9	-3.8	-5.0	-202,788	-69,593
BOSTON	-3.0	-3.7	-0.3	-123,922	-701
SAN DIEGO	5.5	5.8	8.9	95,831	12,482
HOUSTON	-4.2	-6.0	-0.7	-125,794	-4,435
PHILADELPHIA	-0.5	-0.7	-0.3	-30,269	-2,883
DALLAS	0.8	0.0	3.2	1,725	16,075
HIGH INTERNAL MIGRATION					
ATLANTA	7.3	5.5	11.3	107,635	74,949
TAMPA-ST. PETE	8.2	8.7	1.1	151,550	1,807
SEATTLE	6.2	6.4	4.1	133,347	4,531
PHOENIX	7.2	7.6	11.5	121,797	7,606
ORLANDO	13.3	11.8	11.6	105,686	13,836
LAS VEGAS	18.8	19.2	13.2	108,193	8,281
SACRAMENTO	8.6	8.3	12.0	89,855	10,848
WEST PALM BEACH	13.3	14.7	2.6	103,139	2,507
CHARLOTTE	6.2	6.7	3.6	57,828	7,497
RALEIGH-DURHRAM	9.6	9.3	10.4	46,895	17,428
PORTLAND	4.4	4.4	4.0	57,427	1,458
NORFOLK	4.6	2.9	8.0	26,720	28,909
NASHVILLE	6.3	6.6	4.7	50,192	6,476
FORT MYERS	18.3	19.0	3.8	55,491	727
DAYTONA BEACH	15.8	16.5	5.7	52,235	1,730
HIGH OUT-MIGRATION					
DETROIT	-3.2	-3.5	-2.2	-116,164	-19,114
PITTSBURGH	-4.3	-4.4	-3.0	-83,724	-4,899
NEW ORLEANS	-7.7	-8.9	-4.2	-65,217	-16,271
CLEVELAND	-3.1	-3.2	-2.9	-67,624	-11,576
DENVER	-3.6	-4.3	0.2	-58,916	182
ST. LOUIS	-1.6	-1.4	-2.7	-25,232	-10,444
MILWAUKEE	-2.3	-3.1	2.3	-38,611	4,305
BUFFALO	-2.8	-3.0	-0.8	-29,217	-844
OTHER					
COLUMBUS, OH	3.5	3.1	6.0	34,144	8,964
MINNEAPOLIS-ST.PAUL	1.8	1.3	14.8	28,700	11,506
BALTIMORE	1.3	1.3	1.2	22,079	6,479
INDIANAPOLIS	1.3	1.1	2.1	11,496	3,271
KANSAS CITY	0.9	1.2	-0.5	15,225	-915
PROVIDENCE	0.9	0.5	3.9	7,236	1,447
CINCINNATI	0.6	0.5	0.4	7,585	798
HARTFORD	-0.5	-1.0	1.6	-8,503	1,412
SAN ANTONIO	-1.0	-1.2	-0.4	-3,999	-348
ROCHESTER, NY	-1.6	-1.8	-0.5	-14,234	-423
SALT LAKE CITY	-2.1	-2.3	4.9	-20,143	434

* Rates per 100 1990 Population

** Non-Latino Whites

Table 4: Rates of Migration from Abroad*, 1985-90 by Social and Economic Characteristics for Metropolitian Categories: TOTAL POPULATION

	Poverty Status		Educational Attainment				Age
Metro Areas	Below Poverty	Above Poverty	Less Than High School	High School Grad	Some College	College Grad	Over 65
HIGH IMMIGRATION							
LOS ANGELES	17.2	5.3	8.7	4.0	3.0	5.0	1.9
NEW YORK	9.5	3.9	5.1	3.1	3.2	4.4	1.1
SAN FRANCISC0	14.0	4.3	7.3	3.3	3.0	4.6	1.8
MIAMI	14.8	5.8	7.6	4.8	5.1	6.1	2.1
WASHINGTON DC	12.2	4.8	5.9	3.5	4.0	5.2	1.2
CHICAGO	5.4	2.1	2.8	1.5	1.4	2.7	0.6
BOSTON	10.7	2.4	3.9	1.5	1.9	3.5	0.7
SAN DIEGO	14.1	4.0	7.4	3.3	2.9	4.1	1.3
HOUSTON	6.3	2.3	3.2	1.4	1.6	3.1	0.9
PHILADELPHIA	4.0	1.2	1.2	0.8	1.3	2.1	0.3
DALLAS	5.4	1.8	2.8	1.1	1.3	2.1	0.5
HIGH INTERNAL MIGRATION							
ATLANTA	3.3	1.5	1.2	1.0	1.4	2.1	0.2
TAMPA-ST. PETE	3.6	1.6	1.5	1.2	1.7	1.9	0.5
SEATTLE	7.6	2.3	3.1	1.9	2.1	2.7	0.7
PHOENIX	6.0	1.7	2.9	1.2	1.4	2.1	0.4
ORLANDO	8.4	3.0	3.2	2.3	3.2	3.1	1.2
LAS VEGAS	6.3	2.6	3.7	1.7	2.3	3.0	0.8
SACRAMENTO	7.6	2.0	4.0	1.5	1.6	2.5	0.7
WEST PALM BEACH	7.2	2.2	3.8	1.6	1.6	2.1	0.4
CHARLOTTE	1.6	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.9	1.1	0.2
RALEIGH-DURHRAM	3.7	1.6	0.7	0.8	1.3	3.2	0.2
PORTLAND	6.2	1.3	2.4	0.9	1.0	1.9	0.4
NORFOLK	1.7	2.7	1.1	2.4	3.0	3.4	0.3
NASHVILLE	1.5	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.9	1.4	0.1
FORT MYERS	2.6	1.0	1.3	0.9	0.9	1.1	0.4
DAYTONA BEACH	3.7	1.1	1.3	0.9	1.2	1.5	0.7
HIGH OUT-MIGRATION							
DETROIT	2.1	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.8	2.3	0.2
PITTSBURGH	1.1	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.5	1.4	0.1
NEW ORLEANS	1.3	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.8	1.5	0.2
CLEVELAND	2.0	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.7	1.5	0.2
DENVER	4.6	1.3	2.1	0.9	1.3	1.7	0.4
ST. LOUIS	1.5	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.9	1.6	0.1
MILWAUKEE	2.7	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.6	1.3	0.2
BUFFALO	3.2	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.7	1.9	0.1
OTHER							
COLUMBUS, OH	2.4	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.9	2.4	0.1
MINNEAPOLIS-ST.PAUL	5.8	0.9	1.7	0.5	0.8	1.6	0.3
BALTIMORE	2.1	1.4	0.6	1.0	1.9	2.4	0.3
INDIANAPOLIS	0.9	0.7	0.2	0.5	1.0	1.2	0.1
KANSAS CITY	1.6	0.8	0.7	0.5	1.0	1.4	0.1
PROVIDENCE	7.0	1.5	2.3	1.0	1.1	1.8	0.3
CINCINNATI	1.1	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.5	1.3	0.1
HARTFORD	8.9	1.9	3.0	1.4	1.6	2.0	0.4
SAN ANTONIO	3.1	2.3	1.5	1.6	3.0	2.8	0.5
ROCHESTER, NY	3.8	0.9	1.0	0.6	0.8	1.6	0.3
SALT LAKE CITY	4.3	1.3	1.4	0.9	1.7	1.9	0.3

* Rates per 100 1990 Population

Table 5: Rates of Net Internal Migration*, 1985-90 by Social and Economic Characteristics: WHITES

Metro Areas	Poverty Status: Below Poverty	Poverty Status: Above Poverty	Educational Attainment: Less Than High School	Educational Attainment: High School Grad	Educational Attainment: Some College	Educational Attainment: College Grad	Age: Over 65
HIGH IMMIGRATION							
LOS ANGELES	-11.5	-1.4	-5.3	-4.3	-3.2	2.2	-4.7
NEW YORK	-17.1	-5.6	-5.4	-6.7	-7.9	-4.3	-7.0
SAN FRANCISCO	-15.8	-1.6	-6.4	-6.0	-4.0	2.9	-3.9
MIAMI	-8.3	0.3	-2.4	-0.3	-1.4	3.3	0.4
WASHINGTON DC	-20.9	1.2	-7.2	-5.5	-1.9	4.5	-5.6
CHICAGO	-19.4	-2.2	-4.7	-4.0	-3.6	0.4	-5.2
BOSTON	-5.9	-3.6	-3.8	-4.7	-5.9	-2.6	-3.3
SAN DIEGO	0.7	4.3	-0.4	-0.9	2.1	8.3	3.8
HOUSTON	-20.7	-4.0	-6.6	-6.8	-5.6	-1.6	-1.1
PHILADELPHIA	-5.7	-0.4	-1.5	-1.5	-0.6	1.4	-1.8
DALLAS	-15.8	1.5	-5.1	-3.2	0.1	5.2	-0.1
HIGH INTERNAL MIGRATION							
ATLANTA	-10.1	7.2	-0.9	2.9	7.5	11.2	0.1
TAMPA-ST. PETE	5.5	9.5	6.8	9.9	9.7	10.8	7.7
SEATTLE	2.2	6.9	1.7	3.7	6.3	10.3	1.0
PHOENIX	3.8	8.5	3.6	7.0	8.0	10.1	8.2
ORLANDO	5.5	11.9	4.7	9.2	12.0	14.2	4.9
LAS VEGAS	17.1	19.8	19.8	19.5	19.8	20.4	18.5
SACRAMENTO	9.3	8.4	4.2	6.9	8.7	8.1	3.6
WEST PALM BEACH	0.3	16.1	9.8	14.8	15.2	21.3	13.4
CHARLOTTE	0.1	7.5	2.3	5.3	8.3	11.4	1.5
RALEIGH-DURHRAM	21.7	6.7	1.8	4.0	7.8	5.1	4.9
PORTLAND	2.7	5.5	1.5	4.1	5.9	7.8	2.7
NORFOLK	-2.7	1.2	-1.5	-3.0	-2.3	2.9	2.1
NASHVILLE	2.0	6.8	1.4	5.0	9.1	9.0	1.0
FORT MYERS	13.0	20.4	14.6	18.7	23.3	24.6	13.5
DAYTONA BEACH	15.0	16.7	14.7	18.5	16.3	11.3	11.7
HIGH OUT-MIGRATION							
DETROIT	-9.8	-2.2	-3.9	-3.3	-2.4	-2.2	-5.0
PITTSBURGH	-2.0	-3.9	-1.7	-2.3	-4.0	-6.1	-2.2
NEW ORLEANS	-12.3	-8.1	-5.7	-6.4	-9.8	-9.8	-2.5
CLEVELAND	-7.0	-2.2	-2.2	-1.9	-2.9	-2.9	-2.7
DENVER	-7.8	-3.3	-5.0	-5.3	-3.9	-2.4	0.1
ST. LOUIS	-7.9	0.0	-2.0	-1.0	0.3	1.4	-1.6
MILWAUKEE	-9.6	-2.1	-2.6	-3.0	-2.4	-1.3	-2.8
BUFFALO	0.6	-2.9	-1.8	-1.9	-2.7	-5.8	-2.8
OTHER							
COLUMBUS, OH	8.1	2.0	-0.3	1.0	3.3	-1.3	-0.5
MINNEAPOLIS-ST.PAUL	-3.7	2.2	-0.2	0.2	1.9	3.8	-0.1
BALTIMORE	-2.9	1.9	-1.6	-0.4	1.0	6.4	-1.7
INDIANAPOLIS	-7.1	2.5	-1.9	0.1	2.8	6.8	-1.5
KANSAS CITY	-10.2	3.0	-1.6	0.1	2.9	5.8	-1.1
PROVIDENCE	-0.1	0.0	-0.7	-0.5	0.5	0.8	-1.2
CINCINNATI	-0.5	0.8	-1.5	-0.3	1.0	2.6	-0.9
HARTFORD	-13.8	-0.9	-2.1	-2.1	-1.5	0.7	-1.9
SAN ANTONIO	-6.0	-1.5	-2.8	-2.8	-2.6	1.3	2.5
ROCHESTER, NY	-3.3	-1.9	-1.2	-2.0	-1.8	-3.4	-2.1
SALT LAKE CITY	-1.8	-2.0	0.5	-1.8	-2.5	-2.9	0.5

* Rates per 100 1990 Population

Table 6: Rates of Net Internal Migration*, 1985-90 by Social and Economic Characteristics:
BLACKS

Metro Areas	Poverty Status		Educational Attainment				Age
	Below Poverty	Above Poverty	Less Than High School	High School Grad	Some College	College Grad	Over 65
HIGH IMMIGRATION							
LOS ANGELES	-4.6	0.5	-1.8	-2.0	-1.1	3.7	-0.7
NEW YORK	-6.9	-4.7	-5.0	-5.1	-7.0	-4.2	-4.6
SAN FRANCISCO	-4.6	-0.4	-2.8	-2.3	-1.4	2.3	-1.4
MIAMI	-0.1	4.7	1.4	1.4	4.7	7.3	4.6
WASHINGTON DC	-3.1	3.7	-0.6	1.1	3.4	7.2	0.9
CHICAGO	-7.0	-2.4	-3.8	-3.5	-3.8	-1.6	-1.6
BOSTON	0.0	-0.8	-0.8	-0.3	-1.0	-1.3	-2.6
SAN DIEGO	7.9	4.4	-3.5	0.0	1.1	7.5	2.3
HOUSTON	-0.5	0.4	-1.0	0.2	-0.8	-1.0	0.6
PHILADELPHIA	-1.7	0.3	0.1	-0.2	-0.3	1.7	-0.2
DALLAS	0.2	6.0	-1.1	2.4	5.4	10.5	1.0
HIGH INTERNAL MIGRATION							
ATLANTA	5.8	13.9	3.4	8.4	17.4	19.8	4.0
TAMPA-ST. PETE	0.9	4.3	-0.4	2.0	4.3	8.7	4.1
SEATTLE	3.7	3.2	1.4	0.7	2.9	3.8	1.0
PHOENIX	8.2	13.3	6.9	9.8	13.1	15.9	8.8
ORLANDO	5.6	14.1	7.7	13.4	17.4	19.2	8.8
LAS VEGAS	11.9	14.5	15.8	14.2	14.4	19.3	18.6
SACRAMENTO	16.9	10.9	12.8	10.0	13.2	8.2	8.0
WEST PALM BEACH	-1.6	5.4	1.1	5.4	11.2	12.1	4.2
CHARLOTTE	3.1	4.5	1.0	3.7	5.2	7.7	0.8
RALEIGH-DURHRAM	8.2	9.0	5.8	7.2	11.9	4.8	4.2
PORTLAND	7.4	6.4	3.4	6.6	7.1	8.5	3.0
NORFOLK	6.2	5.8	2.4	4.9	6.3	2.2	3.4
NASHVILLE	2.1	3.7	2.3	2.7	4.8	0.2	0.6
FORT MYERS	5.2	7.6	4.5	4.2	15.7	9.5	10.7
DAYTONA BEACH	-2.7	5.2	-0.1	8.1	7.8	3.7	7.2
HIGH OUT-MIGRATION							
DETROIT	-0.3	-0.8	-1.0	-1.1	-2.1	-0.1	-0.2
PITTSBURGH	2.2	-4.4	0.3	-1.5	-2.7	-12.9	0.0
NEW ORLEANS	-2.0	-4.7	-1.6	-2.9	-6.0	-9.1	0.0
CLEVELAND	0.3	-1.3	-1.4	-1.5	-3.5	-3.2	0.1
DENVER	2.3	1.6	-1.1	0.3	2.8	0.1	2.1
ST. LOUIS	-2.8	-0.6	-2.1	-0.9	-1.4	-0.2	-0.5
MILWAUKEE	9.8	0.2	3.8	1.1	0.8	-5.2	1.7
BUFFALO	2.0	-2.4	0.1	-0.9	-1.4	-6.5	-0.3
OTHER							
COLUMBUS, OH	4.9	3.8	5.2	5.1	6.3	0.6	0.1
MINNEAPOLIS-ST.PAUL	26.4	9.6	17.4	15.8	13.3	7.0	3.7
BALTIMORE	1.5	1.8	-0.1	1.2	2.7	3.1	0.2
INDIANAPOLIS	2.3	3.5	0.7	3.0	4.5	4.4	1.2
KANSAS CITY	1.3	0.7	-0.4	0.2	0.2	4.0	0.7
PROVIDENCE	1.5	3.8	2.7	5.3	3.7	0.7	-2.5
CINCINNATI	1.3	0.5	0.6	0.0	1.9	1.3	0.3
HARTFORD	1.2	1.8	0.6	3.9	1.7	3.7	-3.2
SAN ANTONIO	0.5	0.1	-2.7	-0.9	-1.1	-1.6	1.4
ROCHESTER, NY	0.7	-1.9	2.9	0.3	-3.3	-10.7	-4.5
SALT LAKE CITY	22.7	-3.6	8.8	-4.1	-5.5	1.3	5.8

* Rates per 100 1990 Population

TABLE 7: List of Metro Areas with Greatest Net Internal Migration Gains and Losses: Whites and Blacks

RANK	GREATEST GAINS DUE TO NET INTERNAL MIGRATION			
	Whites		Blacks	
		Size		Size
1.	TAMPA-ST. PETE	141,056	ATLANTA	74,949
2.	SEATTLE	129,204	NORFOLK	28,909
3.	PHOENIX	116,367	WASHINGTON, DC	20,205
4.	ATLANTA, GA.	102,297	RALEIGH-DURHAM	17,428
5.	LAS VEGAS	99,633	DALLAS	16,075
6.	WEST PALM BEACH	95,301	ORLANDO	13,836
7.	ORLANDO	90,743	RICHMOND	12,508
8.	SAN DIEGO	87,522	SAN DIEGO	12,482
9.	SACRAMENTO	83,718	MINNEAPOLIS-ST PAUL	11,506
10.	CHARLOTTE	57,012	SACRAMENTO	10,848
RANK	GREATEST LOSSES DUE TO NET INTERNAL MIGRATION			
	Whites		Blacks	
		Size		Size
1.	NEW YORK	-705,498	NEW YORK	-191,700
2.	CHICAGO	-191,483	CHICAGO	-69,593
3.	LOS ANGELES	-136,158	DETROIT	-19,114
4.	BOSTON	-124,816	NEW ORLEANS	-16,271
5.	HOUSTON	-120,151	LOS ANGELES	-11,731
6.	DETROIT	-114,684	CLEVELAND	-11,576
7.	PITTSBURGH	-83,432	ST. LOUIS	-10,444
8.	SAN FRANCISCO	-79,797	SAN FRANCISCO	-7,078
9.	CLEVELAND	-67,278	SHREVEPORT	-5,075
10.	NEW ORLEANS	-60,727	PITTSBURGH	-4,899

TABLE 8: Greatest Destination States for White and Black Out-migrants from California
TOTAL POPULATION

DESTINATIONS FOR CALIFORNIA WHITE OUT-MIGRANTS

RANK	All Whites*		Below Poverty**		Above Poverty**		College Graduates***	
	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size
1.	WASHINGTON	126,875	OREGON	15,330	WASHINGTON	107,295	WASHINGTON	26,637
2.	OREGON	113,824	WASHINGTON	13,329	OREGON	93,506	OREGON	17,726
3.	ARIZONA	104,818	ARIZONA	12,286	ARIZONA	84,631	TEXAS	17,658
4.	NEVADA	86,815	NEVADA	9,104	NEVADA	73,698	ARIZONA	17,148
5.	TEXAS	79,545	TEXAS	7,320	TEXAS	66,865	NEW YORK	15,137
6.	FLORIDA	66,860	FLORIDA	5,881	FLORIDA	57,868	VIRGINIA	14,262
7.	COLORADO	51,026	UTAH	5,852	COLORADO	41,247	FLORIDA	12,986
8.	VIRGINIA	44,212	COLORADO	5,184	VIRGINIA	39,954	COLORADO	11,832
9.	NEW YORK	44,180	NEW YORK	4,652	ILLINOIS	36,276	ILLINOIS	11,481
10.	ILLINOIS	41,026	MISSOURI	4,516	NEW YORK	34,549	NEVADA	9,670

DESTINATIONS FOR CALIFORNIA BLACK OUT-MIGRANTS

RANK	All Blacks*		Below Poverty**		Above Poverty**		College Graduates***	
	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size
1.	TEXAS	15,874	TEXAS	4,162	TEXAS	9,846	TEXAS	1,297
2.	GEORGIA	7,974	LOUISIANA	2,801	GEORGIA	5,935	GEORGIA	1,006
3.	FLORIDA	7,354	MICHIGAN	1,746	FLORIDA	5,346	VIRGINIA	969
4.	ILLINOIS	6,915	ILLINOIS	1,701	VIRGINIA	5,108	NEW YORK	947
5.	LOUISIANA	6,719	OHIO	1,588	NEVADA	4,960	MARYLAND	868
6.	NEVADA	6,646	MISSISSIPPI	1,477	ILLINOIS	4,930	ILLINOIS	781
7.	VIRGINIA	6,626	WASHINGTON	1,464	NEW YORK	4,414	FLORIDA	767
8.	NEW YORK	6,473	FLORIDA	1,392	WASHINGTON	4,404	NEVADA	572
9.	WASHINGTON	6,451	NEW YORK	1,347	ARIZONA	3,746	WASHINGTON	541
10.	OHIO	5,674	GEORGIA	1,339	OHIO	3,727	ARIZONA	519

* Persons aged 5 and over at 1990 census

** Persons aged 5 and over for whom poverty status is determined in the 1990 census

*** Persons aged 25 and over who reported graduating from college in the 1990 census

Table: 9 Net Internal Migration 1985-90 for Metro Areas Greater than 250,000 [a], Regressed on Metro Attributes

WHITES

(Standardized Regression Coefficients)

Metro Attributes[b]	Total	Income		Education			Age 65+
		Below Poverty	Above Poverty	L.T. HS	HS Grad	Coll Grad	
REGION[c]							
Northeast	-.23*	-.05	-.27*	-.15*	-.20*	-.35*	-.27*
Midwest	-.18*	-.07	-.19*	-.16*	-.16*	-.20	-.22*
South Atlantic	.10	.04	.12	.10*	.10	.15	.08
Mountain	.18*	.14*	.15*	.10*	.09	.21*	.03
Pacific	-.01	.01	-.01	.03	.00	-.03	-.00
UNEMPLOYMENT	-.17*	-.16*	-.13*	-.13*	-.11*	-.11	-.08
INCOME	.02	-.19*	.10	-.01	.04	.22*	.07
MFG GROWTH	.16*	.10*	.18*	.08*	.14*	.12	.07
% UPPER WHITE COLLAR	-.10	.08	-.16*	-.14*	-.18*	-.13	-.10*
% NON-WHITE	-.03	-.06	-.05	-.02	-.04	-.04	.02
% BLACK	-.10	-.09*	-.09	-.11*	-.12*	-.06	-.18*
IMMIGRATION	-.72*	-.67*	-.73*	-.75*	-.76*	-.44*	-.81*
POP SIZE (LOG)	.07	-.22*	.19*	-.09*	.03	.31*	.03
R^2	.63	.80	.59	.81	.73	.36	.74

[a] 126 metropolitan areas with 1990 total populations exceeding 250,000, and black populations exceeding 5,000

[b] See text for attribute definitions

[c] Omitted category includes the remainder of the South region (other than South Atlantic)

*Significant at .1 level

Table:10 Net Internal Migration 1985-90 for Metro Areas Greater than 250,000[a], Regressed on Metro Attributes

BLACKS

(Standardized Regression Coefficients)

Metro Attributes[b]	Total	Income		Education			Age 65+
		Below Poverty	Above Poverty	L.T. HS	HS Grad	Coll Grad	
REGION[c]							
Northeast	-.17	-.17*	-.19	-.13	-.16	-.18	-.20*
Midwest	-.13	-.09	-.13	-.08	-.11	-.12	-.09
South Atlantic	.13	.05	.19*	.07	.13	.22*	.10
Mountain	.14	.15*	.07	.16*	.11	.02	.13
Pacific	-.03	-.01	-.04	.00	-.02	-.07	.00
UNEMPLOYMENT	-.14	-.16*	-.07	-.15*	-.10	.03	-.10
INCOME	-.01	-.06	.08	-.04	.03	.18	.01
MFG GROWTH	.05	.00	.09	.01	.04	.12	-.00
% UPPER WHITE COLLAR	.04	.01	.02	-.01	.00	.07	-.04
% NON-WHITE	.03	-.03	.05	.02	.02	.03	.05
% BLACK	-.07	-.06	-.07	-.05	-.05	-.07	-.05
IMMIGRATION	-.68*	-.75*	-.60*	-.71*	-.76*	-.30*	-.72*
POP SIZE (LOG)	.09	.06	.23*	.02	.14	.24*	.12
R^2	.44	.54	.33	.50	.49	.21	.46

[a]126 metropolitan areas with 1990 total populations exceeding 250,000, and black populations exceeding 5,000

[b]See text for attribute definitions

[c]Omitted category includes the remainder of the South region (other than South Atlantic)

*Significant at .1 level

TABLE 11: Impact of Migration on Los Angeles' White, Black and Other Minority Composition By Socio-Demographic Categories

Population Categories	Whites (in 1000s)			Blacks (in 1000s)			Other Minorities (in 1000s)			Percent of Total Population		
	Total Migration	Immigration from Abroad	Net Internal Migration	Total Migration	Immigration from Abroad	Net Internal Migration	Total Migration	Immigration from Abroad	Net Internal Migration	Whites	Blacks	Other Minorities
TOTAL	4.0	140.1	-136.2	5.2	16.9	-11.7	715.2	741.9	-26.8	50	8	41
POVERTY STATUS												
Below Poverty	-9.7	38.0	-47.7	-6.2	3.3	-9.5	223.3	241.0	-17.7	25	13	62
Above Poverty	16.4	101.8	-85.4	17.5	12.8	4.7	494.1	488.2	5.9	55	8	38
EDUCATION ATTAINMENT												
Less than HS	-17.8	20.3	-38.1	-0.9	2.3	-3.2	178.2	187.8	-9.5	30	7	62
High School Grad	-32.8	20.4	-53.2	-0.7	2.8	-3.5	49.8	54.0	-4.2	63	9	28
Some College	-32.5	24.7	-57.2	0.9	3.7	-2.8	48.9	51.4	-2.6	67	10	23
College Grad	63.1	31.6	31.6	5.6	1.6	4.0	76.9	65.4	11.5	72	5	23
AGE												
Under 15	-9.7	21.8	-31.6	-0.3	2.8	-3.1	100.0	110.1	-10.1	38	10	52
25-34	54.6	42.0	12.6	8.7	6.4	2.4	201.2	199.6	1.7	47	8	44
35-44	0.5	26.5	-26.0	-1.0	2.5	-3.5	76.5	78.1	-1.7	54	8	38
65 and above	-42.2	8.0	-50.2	-0.3	0.3	-0.6	18.0	19.1	-1.1	76	6	18